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SUBJECT: NIGERIA PUBLIC DIPLOMACY INFLUENCE ANALYSIS

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¶1. Introduction: Nigeria is Africa's most populous nation and the central gravity for the continent's emerging democracies. Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo is the current Chair of the Africa Union, and with approximately 130 million people and still growing, Nigeria provides the largest share of peacekeeping personnel and logistics to most of Africa's hot spots. Nigeria's size, diversity and economy have direct strong influence on its neighbors such as Chad, Niger, Benin, and Cameroon. The country has access to a complex array of media, foreign and domestic, electronic and print, as well as growing use of the Internet. Nigerian public figures and opinion leaders utilize and are influenced by all forms of media and communication systems, but electronic media are most pervasive in Nigerian society and have the strongest reach to mass audiences. Free-to-air decoders that provide free Arabic-language satellite broadcasts from the Middle East, especially Al-Jazeera, has made a strong inroad into many northern Nigerian homes. Surveys have shown that about 67 percent of Nigerians get their news from radio, 20 per cent from television, 10 per cent from newspapers and handbills, and 3 per cent from the Internet. Given the high reliance on electronic forms of media, the Nigerian Government has been reluctant to give up its control of national and state-level radio and television stations, but has largely ceded the print media to the private sector, which has surprisingly high number of daily and weekly newspapers competing for a comparatively small readership.

¶2. Press independence remains a work in progress, given the high degree of government control in the media. Thus Nigerians rely heavily on foreign media outlets for information about world news and secondarily, Nigerian news. Aware of the popularity of foreign media, Nigerian officials have voiced their displeasure and worry over foreign media influence in Nigeria. Recently the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) banned direct rebroadcast of foreign news by Nigerian affiliate stations of the BBC, VOA and DW. The NBC has also outlawed the sale and use of free-to-air decoders in Nigeria, but these measures have not deterred Nigerian audiences who continue to receive foreign broadcasts including the CNN, CCTV and Al-Jazeera via satellite television and shortwave radio.

¶3. For foreign radio broadcasters, Nigeria represents two distinct audiences divided largely by language and geography. Roughly half of Nigeria's population lives in northern Nigeria, speaks Hausa as a first language, or uses Hausa as a second language or lingua franca. This group is predominantly Muslim while southern Nigeria is largely English speaking and Christian. While many southern Yorubas are also Muslim, Islamic scholars (and Nigerians Muslims themselves) make a clear distinction between Yoruba Muslims and those from the north. Thus, BBC and VOA have English as well as Hausa language programs to cover northern audiences while English programming is more popular in the south.

¶4. There are differences between how elites process information and effective strategies to influence elite opinion, and how average Nigerians get their information and formulate opinions. USG-to-GON influence strategies are only partially successful in Nigeria, as Nigerian public officials are very dependent on the opinions of other African government officials, pay real attention, and envy the success stories of other African and non-aligned countries. Nigeria has a large ego, and the peer review mechanism is an important self-assessment and policy formulation toll in Nigeria. For contentious issues between the USG and Nigeria, we should look to respected intermediaries and messengers who are held in high esteem by Nigerian officials - either distinguished African-American, or distinguished Pan-African non-

governmental American leaders as well as other African officials who enjoy access in Nigeria. Regardless of what they hear from the media, average Nigerians place great stock in opinions of local religious and traditional leaders as well as youth militant leaders, and can be influenced (both positively and negatively) by such people. In both the north and south, traditional and religious leaders play an increasingly important role as one moves away from urban centers and as literacy levels decline. In the oil-producing Niger Delta region, voices from militant youth leaders are a force to be reckoned with. End introduction.

The Media Environment in Nigeria

15. The media environment in Nigeria is remarkably complex, with sharp north-south differences. In both the north and south, however, radio remains the means by which most Nigerians hear news. The government regulates the national television and radio airwaves through the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) a nominally independent body. The federal government-owned Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and the National Television Authority (NTA) are Africa's largest radio and television networks. They operate stations in the state capitals and have two "autonomous" stations in Lagos and Abuja. In addition, the Government of Nigeria sponsors the Voice of Nigeria (VOA), which broadcasts news and feature stories about Nigeria within the country as well as outside Nigeria to neighboring West African nations and South Africa, where many Nigerians live. Africa Independent Television (AIT) and Raypower radio have the widest reach via satellite amongst the licensed private broadcast operations. Other private stations are mostly based in the urban cities of Lagos, Abuja, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, Benin, Obosi, Abeokuta and Port Harcourt with a largely southern following. Commercially, NTA, MITV, AIT, Minaj, and Channels are available within Africa via satellite, while U.S. satellite subscribers may receive AIT broadcasts. The top leading Nigerian newspapers in the south includes "The Sun," "Guardian," "ThisDay," "Vanguard," "Daily Independent," "Tribune," and "Champion" while "Daily Trust," "Gaskiya," and "Al-Mizan" are the widest circulating papers in the north.

Information Sources

16. In the north, radio is particularly important in reaching large audiences, and the Hausa language broadcasts are very popular. Both Nigerian and foreign stations, BBC, VOA, DW, Radio Iran inclusive, have large listenerships. Because of the north's relative low literacy rate and lack of development, television, especially English language broadcasts, does not yet reach large audiences. But satellite broadcasts -- not only BBC and CNN but also Arabic-language stations from the Middle East -- reach and influence the elite. Cable television subscriptions and free to air decoders, bringing international stations to Nigerian viewers by satellite, have become more important in affluent communities, especially in the north. Local language and ethnically based papers are important in both the north and the south. Aside from traditional media, a broad category of other information sources also includes influential teachings in the mosques, churches, Sunday schools and Islamic schools. Some of the opinions in circulation come from visiting scholars and clerics, and are a particular source of influence in an increasingly illiterate northern Nigeria. There is a sector of sponsored pro-Islamic information sources with grassroots influence that is primarily religious and anti-U.S. in character. Some of them, especially the pro-Islamic sponsored literature, pamphlets and hand bills exploit the Hausa language to build a large readership. Internet chat groups are also influential with the elite and political class such as and which has become very influential with northern intellectuals, labor leaders, northern Muslim/Christian youth activists, Civil Society and NGO leaders as well as student groups. Christian organizations in the south are a large force for mobilizing crowds but are not generally viewed as political actors; parishes actively discourage political messages.

Who matters in Nigeria?

17. It is important to distinguish between influential political actors that are within the government and those outside it. Those in government influence

policies and are respected for the positions they occupy, but they may not have the same clout after vacating their offices. Conversely, there are retired military leaders and political actors whose opinions remain crucial to policy decisions well after they had left the government. Top political party leaders, religious leaders, labor leaders, traditional rulers, youth leaders, and academics have varying levels of influence in the government's decision making process. Retired past military leaders still retain significant influence while Muslim clerics are the most influential in northern Nigeria. Journalists are important in informing the public and mobilizing public opinion, but have little direct influence as individuals.

Those in government

---President Olusegun Obasanjo

Obasanjo makes the decisions. The president has severally denied any third term, self-succession plan. Obasanjo is serving his second term as a democratically elected leader since May 1999, having served previously as the only Nigerian military Head of State who voluntarily handed over to a democratic government in 1979. Obasanjo has a large ego and an ambition for global statesmanship.

---Atiku Abubakar

Abubakar is the current vice president of Nigeria. Born on November 25, 1946 at Jada, Adamawa State, Abubakar is reportedly working assiduously hard to take over from President Obasanjo in 2007. Although, his ambition may face some hiccups, observers believe he has all it takes to be the next Nigerian president - power, money, influence and political connections. Abubakar came to the Nigerian political scene in the 1990s as a prominent member of the Peoples' Democratic Movement (PDM), an influential national political association founded by late Musa Yar'adua. PDM eventually became one of the associations that formed the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) in 1998. Abubakar was elected Governor of Adamawa State in 1998 before President Obasanjo nominated him as Vice President during 1999 presidential elections. They were reelected in 2003.

---Alhaji Nuhu Ribadu

Ribadu has been the Chairman, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (since 2003). Ribadu was likely appointed to his post by President Obasanjo because of his reputation as a formidable and hard-nosed financial fraud police inspector and his personal connections to several members of Obasanjo's economic team. Described as dedicated but at times arrogant, Ribadu has won kudos from GON officials and the press for his aggressiveness in pursuing economic criminals. He has often tested the limits of his authority, ruffling feathers inside and outside the GON. A mid-level bureaucrat before his appointment to the EFCC, Ribadu was the Head of the Legal and Prosecution Department of the Nigerian Police. He joined the Nigeria Police in 1986 as an Assistant Superintendent of Police, climbing the ladder to become Deputy Superintendent (1992), Superintendent (1995), Chief Superintendent (1998) and Assistant Commissioner (2000).

Ribadu was born in Yola, Adamawa State on November 11, 1960. He earned a Bachelor of Laws degree at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (1980-1983) and proceeded to the Nigerian Law School where he was called to the Bar in 1984.

---Mr. Bode Agusto

Mr. Agusto has been the Director General/Adviser in the Budget Office of the Federation (since 2003). Taciturn and no-nonsense, Olabode (Bode) Agusto, was likely appointed to his post by President Obasanjo to add further credibility to the GON's new economic team. He qualified as a chartered accountant in 1981, obtaining the third prize in the overall order of merit. Agusto then worked with Price Waterhouse in Lagos and London as an auditor, tax consultant and management consultant.

The Director General also worked in Citibank Nigeria first as an operations officer and later as a credit officer. Agusto is the founder (1992) and Managing Director of Lagos-based Agusto & Co Limited, a credit rating and business information company.

---Professor Charles Saludo

Professor Saludo has been the Chief Economic Adviser to President Obasanjo (since 2003) and Governor, Central

Bank of Nigeria (since May).

Professor Saludo is the driving force and leading member of President Obasanjo's economic team. Saludo, an intelligent, energetic and worldly interlocutor, was likely appointed to his position by President Obasanjo because of his international connections to leading economists and for his pro-debt relief stance. He was Educated at Harvard University and Cambridge in the United Kingdom.

Before assuming his post, Saludo served as the Executive Director of the African Institute for Applied Economics (AIAE) at Enugu, Nigeria. He was also a Professor of Economics at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Dr. Saludo has consulted on debt relief and poverty reduction for the Bretton Woods Institutions, UN agencies, and USAID.

---Dr. (Mrs). Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala
Dr. Iweala has been the Minister of Finance (since 2003).

A career bureaucrat, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala (o-KON-jo-ee-WAY-ah-la) was likely appointed to her position by President Obasanjo because of her contacts in and influence on and understanding of the Bretton Woods Institutions and her international reputation as a competent administrator. The Minister joined the World Bank's Young Professionals Program in 1982. From 1982 to 2000, she worked as an Economist and subsequently managed the East Asia, Africa and Middle East portfolios.

Dr. Okonjo-Iweala initially served the Obasanjo Administration in 2000, when she took a leave of absence from the World Bank to help Nigeria in managing its foreign debt, culminating in the establishment of the Debt Management Office (DMO).

---Dr. Jide Adedeji

Dr. Adedeji is an entrepreneur, scientist, innovator and business owner with strong interest in value added agro-industrial business enterprises in Africa. He is the President of Honeydrop Foods Incorporated in New Jersey, USA. www.obesauce.com.
He recently completed method and process development of two unique and exotic tropical fruit flavors that have extraordinary commercial potential as a flavor ingredient in flavor formulations, beverages and food products.

Dr. Adedeji has a Ph.D. and masters degree in Food Science from Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. He has a Master of Science degree and postgraduate Diploma in Food Science and Technology from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria and a bachelor's degree in Agricultural Biochemistry and Nutrition from the same institution.

---NasirAhmed El-Rufai

El-Rufai has been the Minister of the Federal Capital Territory (since 2003)

El-Rufai, who served as President Obasanjo's effective and often publicly maligned Director-General of the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) from November 1999 to May 2003, is considered one of the GON's ablest technocrats. El-Rufai is a key and influential member of Obasanjo's economic team and was a driving force in preparing the GON's National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS) program.

Nasir El-Rufai has worked in various fields in the private sector, including Telecommunications and Construction. His first professional experience in the public sector was his appointment as a member of the Program Implementation Monitoring Committee (PIMCO)-a think tank in the office of the Head of State (1998-1999).

Born on February 16, 1960, El-Rufai attended Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, where he obtained First Class Honors in Quantity Surveying (1980) and a Masters of Business Administration (1984). He also attended the Harvard Business School, Management Program (1994-1998/2001) and the Arthur D. Little School of Management, earning a Certificate in Privatization (1992).

Senate President Ken Nnamani

Senator Nnamani presides over Nigeria's upper legislative house. By Nigerian official ranking, he is the third in the hierarchy of government. He was elected as Senate President on April 5 2005. Nnamani holds an MBA from Ohio University, Athens, USA. He was a businessman and industrial consultant before trying his hands in politics.

Speaker Aminu Masari

Representative Masari heads the lower legislative house. He is the fourth ranking official in Nigeria. He was elected speaker in 2003.

Obong Ufot Ekaette

Ekaette has been the Secretary to the Government of the Federation (since 1999). He heads the cabinet secretariat and coordinates activities of all cabinet

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members. He was born on April 17, 1939 in Ikot Edor, Onna Local Government Area of Akwa Ibom State. He attended King's College, Lagos and later University College, Ibadan, where he graduated with B.Sc (Honors) in Economics in 1964 with a distinction in Development Economics.

Political Heavy Weights outside Government

---General Muhammadu Buhari

General Buhari is a retired General, former military head of state and presidential candidate of Nigeria's largest opposition party, ANPP in the 2003 elections. Although, he lost the elections amid allegations of widespread irregularities, Buhari is still very popular with the grassroots especially in the Northern part of Nigeria.

Buhari received his military training at the Nigerian Defense Academy (NDA), Kaduna Nigeria, Mons Officer Cadet School, Adershot, United Kingdom, Defense Services Staff College, Wellington and USA Army War College.

---General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida

General Babangida, retired General and former Head of State remains an influential figure in the Nigerian political scene since he quit government after annulling the controversial 1993 elections. Born in 1941, Babangida joined the Nigerian army in 1962 and retired in 1993. He had his military training at the Nigerian Defense Academy (NDA), Indian Military Academy (1964), Royal Armored Center, United Kingdom (1966), Army Armored School, USA (1972-73), Command and Staff College, Jaji, Nigeria (1977) and Senior Defense Management Course, Naval Postgraduate, USA (1980).

---Chief Tony Anenih, Chairman, PDP Board of Trustees

Anenih is the current Chairman, PDP Board of Trustees. Believed to have the ears of president Obasanjo who once appointed him Minister for Works and Housing, Anenih is undoubtedly Obasanjo's political strategist and tactician. Nigerians sometimes read Anenih's lips to know Obasanjo's mood.

Anenih was born on September 25, 1941 in Uromi, present day Edo state. A chartered accountant, Anenih was trained in Nigeria and Great Britain. He later joined the Nigerian Police force where he rose to the post of an Assistant Commissioner before he went into private business.

---Chief Chukwuemeka Anyaoku

Traditional/Religious Leaders

---Sultan Muhammadu Maccido

Maccido is the Sultan of Sokoto. By official recognition, Sultan of Sokoto is the highest ranking Muslim leader in Nigeria, combining both religious and traditional roles. Therefore, the Sultan represents not only all the Muslims in Nigeria but he is also the highest ranking traditional ruler in the North. As the reigning Sultan, Maccido is both the president of the Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI) and Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (SCIA), two most important Muslim organizations. Sultan Maccido was born in 1926 and was

appointed Sultan on April 21, 1996 following the deposition of Sultan Dasuki by the Abacha regime.

---Cardinal Anthony Okogie

Cardinal Okogie is the Catholic Archbishop of Lagos. He is one of the vocal Christian leaders in Nigeria.

Okogie was born on June 16, 1936 in Sapele, Delta state. He was educated in Lagos and Rome and was ordained Catholic priest on December 11, 1966. On June 5, 1971, he was appointed auxiliary Bishop of Lagos and ordained Bishop on August 29, 1975. He became an archbishop on April 13, 1973.

Alhaji Ado Bayero

Bayero is the Emir of Kano. A retired police officer, diplomat, administrator and traditional ruler, Bayero is perhaps the most influential traditional ruler in the North. Bayero has played several mediating roles during communal conflicts and he is well respected within and outside Kano. The significance of Kano as the commercial nerve center of the North coupled with its huge population of the State (Note: Kano is the second most populous in Nigeria after Lagos).

He was born on June 15, 1930 and appointed Emir of Kano 1963. Prior to that, he was Nigerian Ambassador to Senegal. He served as Chief of Police, Kano Native Authority from 1957 to 1962. Bayero was a member of the Northern State House of Assembly from 1955 to 1957. He attended Kano Middle School from 1942 to 1947, School of Arabic Studies, Kano from 1947 to 1949 and Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria from 1951 to 1952.

---Right Reverend Peter Jasper Akinola

Akinola is the Head of Anglican Church in Nigeria and Chairman, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). Apart from heading one the largest Christian congregations, Reverend Akinola's position as CAN chairman makes him an influential religious leader in Nigeria. CAN is the umbrella organization for all the Christian communities in Nigeria.

---Oba Okuade Sijuwade

Oba Sijuwade is the Ooni of Ife (paramount ruler of the cradle of Yoruba civilization). Businessman and traditional ruler, Oba Sijuwade is one of the most influential traditional chiefs in the Southwest. His domain, Ile-Ife is considered the ancestral home of Yoruba nationality. He was born on January 1, 1930 and was crowned the Ooni of Ife in 1980.

Igwe Alfred Achebe

Achebe is the Obi of Onitsha (the most vibrant commercial city in Ibo land). Achebe was a member of the recently disbanded political reform conference. He represented southeast traditional rulers. Igwe Achebe was born in Onitsha, Anambra state on May 14, 1941. He was appointed the Obi of Onitsha on May 10, 2002. The stool of the Obi of Onitsha is the most powerful traditional institution in the South East. He obtained a B.A in Chemistry from the Stanford University California, USA and an M.Sc in Business Administration from the Columbia University in New York City.

Campbell